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Hawthorne's child psychology

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HAWTHORNE'S CHILD PSYCHOLOGY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

HESTER AND PEARL

The world of children was one Nathaniel Hawthorne knew well and in Hester's relationship with Pearl in The Scarlet Letter he described a method of child rearing that was growing in popularity in his time and that he practiced with his own children. Built on love, mutual give and take, and gentle authority, it was a far cry from the stern, dictatorial method of handling children in the 1600's. The relationship of Hester and Pearl was based on the Hawthornes' handling of their children rather than on any Puritan models.

Considering her many handicaps, Hester does an excellent job in her role as both mother and father to the troubled little girl. She has no financial support but what she can provide by her sewing; she has no friends to turn to for advice or relief from the child's constant company; she is an object of scorn in the community; and the child is hyperactive and difficult. Yet she remains patient and gentle in dealing with Pearl and the result, from all the evidence in the book, is the well-adjusted young woman Pearl turns out to be.

Hester and Pearl are very much alike. As Arthur Dimmesdale points out to Hester when they meet in the forest, in appearance Pearl "'is mostly thine!'"[1] Hester is tall and voluptuous with thick dark hair and dark eyes. Of Pearl Hawthorne wrote she has a "rich and luxuriant beauty; a beauty that shone with deep and vivid tints; a bright complexion, eyes possessing intensity both of depth and glow, and hair already of a deep glossy brown, and which, in after years, would be

nearly akin to black" (143). Furthermore, in their creativity and imaginative powers mother and daughter are similar. Hester's art in her needlework and her intellectual musings on women's rights are paralleled in the child's gift of draping and adorning herself with wildflowers and seaweed and in her fanciful solitary play. But more importantly, the two are alike in their passionate, rebellious natures. The first glimpse of Hester reveals her independence. She repels the touch of the town beadle and steps forth by her own "free will." Though possessing remarkable self-control throughout her ordeal on the scaffold, Hester feels "at moments, as if she must shriek out with the full power of her lungs and cast herself from the scaffold down upon the ground, or else go mad at once" (118). After returning to prison she is so wrought up that her life and that of her babe are in jeopardy. But her self-control is uppermost at this time and remains so throughout the years of Pearl's early childhood when mother and daughter suffer humiliation and isolation. Only when Hester is faced with losing Pearl does her passion flame again. Her frenzied pleas at the Governor's mansion remind the onlookers that she is close to "madness." She screams,"'Ye shall not take her! I will die first!'" (150).

Pearl inherits all her mother's passionate nature but does not have to exercise nearly as much control. She is a child of unsettled moods and no doubt given to frequent temper tantrums. One is described

at the meeting of Hester and Dimmesdale in the forest when Pearl finds her mother without the scarlet letter on her breast. She screams and stamps and waves her arms about until she has her way.

What might have proved a hopeless clash of wills in two passionate persons so continuously together actually works out with salutary results for each. Forced to affect a cold and stern demeanor, Hester finds expression through Pearl's outbursts. In other words, Pearl acts out Hester's repressed emotions. In the first scene on the scaffold the infant "pierced the air with its wailing and screams" while Hester remains impassive without, while seething within. Later Pearl is able to return to the community some of what Hester must have felt when she "forbore to pray for her enemies"(134). In fact, with regard to the Puritans' scorn, "Pearl felt the sentiment, and requited it with the bitterest hatred that can be supposed to rankle in a childish bosom" (139). After chasing the Puritan children who threaten to throw mud on the way to Governor Bellingham's mansion, Pearl returns to her mother's side and smiles up into her face. Hester here, as in other instances of the child's aggressiveness, does not correct or punish Pearl.

Pearl's continual physical activity, leaping, dancing, ranging far and abroad in her walks with Hester, must have provided her mother, who never curtails the child's activity, with vicarious relief from her eternal restraint. In the final scenes on Election Day Pearl "betrayed, by the very dance of her spirits, the emotions which none could detect in the marble passiveness of Hester's brow" (219).

The pair indulge in a mutual give and take that is beneficial in every respect. They are the only outlets for affection that either is allowed, and despite Hester's continual doubts of Pearl's capacity for affection, Pearl shows that she cares very much for her mother. Her capricious displays of affection are a result of her impulsive nature and hyperactivity and do not suggest a lack of feeling for her mother as Hester fears. Pearl contributes markedly in helping Hester maintain an equilibrium in a lonely and frustrating life. The need to provide for Pearl forces Hester to seek a livelihood and in doing so brings her into communion with other people. The constant care of her small daughter saves Hester from pursuing a course of reform for the rights of women, which to Hawthorne could effectively come only from one happily settled in marriage. Indeed Hester is saved from a rendezvous with the devil when she is forced to refuse Mistress Hibbins' invitation to meet by night in the forest. Without a baby sitter Hester can not go. In general, all of Hester's unfeminine characteristics are soothed "by the softening influences of maternity" (139). In turn Hester offers Pearl all the solicitations of a warm and generous mother.

Hester's handling of Pearl reflects a permissive method of child rearing. She allows Pearl to indulge in all manner of childish behavior. She does not in any way attempt to curb the child's drive for continual physical activity. Pearl runs and climbs at will and

whirls through town unadmonished to behave in a lady-like way. Despite Pearl's elaborate clothes Hester permits her to dabble in sand and mud and drape herself with flowers and weeds.

More significantly Hester allows Pearl full release of her emotions; she does not attempt to curb the child's anger and frustrations. Besides throwing stones at children Pearl speaks freely and impertinently to adults. In full view of Arthur Dimmesdale and Roger Chillingworth, about whom she harbors perplexed feelings, she yells, "'Come away or yonder old Black Man will catch you! He hath got hold of the minister already. Come away, Mother, or he will catch you! But he cannot catch little Pearl!'"(163) In the final scene on Election Day the seaman who asks Pearl to carry a message to her mother for him receives the flippant reply,"'If the message pleases me, I will'" (229). Hester allows Pearl to express ambivalent feelings about her too. At one time the child delights in throwing flowers at the scarlet letter on Hester's breast; at another she outlines it in burrs.

Having herself been raised in an atmosphere of gentleness and love, Hester returns it in her relationship with her own child. At times, as in the rock-throwing incidents, it is in modern terms, over-permissive. Pearl injures a bird with a well-aimed stone and quite probably more than one Puritan child. Dr. Haim G. Ginott delineates the terms in his 1965 book, Between Parent and Child. "Permissiveness is an attitude of accepting the childishness of

children. . . . Destructive behavior is not permitted; when it occurs, the parents intervene and redirect it into verbal outlets and other symbolic channels. . . . Overpermissiveness is the allowing of undesirable acts."[2] When Pearl identifies the Puritan children with weeds and attempts to annihilate the substitute, she indulges in a symbolic act of aggressiveness, which Ginott might find more desirable: "The pine-trees, aged, black, and solemn, and flinging groans and other melancholy utterances on the breeze, needed little transformation to figure as Puritan elders; the ugliest weeds of the garden were their children, whom Pearl smote down and uprooted, most unmercifully" (140).

Hester attempts a "tender but strict control." Yet Hawthorne suggests that she "ran little risk of erring on the side of undue severity" (137). She attempts physical restraint at times but never physical punishment. A "dark closet" is threatened but never is used. When Pearl is most perplexing and perverse Hester responds to the impasse with a warm embrace.

Besides being a source of love for Pearl, Hester must have offered a good deal of security, a suitable rock in grey--ever-present, always sensible. In the face of a hostile world Pearl is backed by a mother who always takes her part, who brags to the minister, "'She is a splendid child!'" (206). She continually offers her an identity by calling her "my little Pearl," and it has its effect--the child's response to the governor is that she is "mother's child." Hester refrains from labeling

Pearl negatively as "bad" or "wicked" and uses "naughty" only once when Pearl seizes on the subjects forbidden her--what the scarlet letter means and why the minister keeps his hand over his heart.

In the face of Pearl's perversity Hester tries to distract her or kindly issues brief directions. She does not nag her or scold her afterwards for her infractions. She repeatedly refrains from becoming emotional over what is oftentimes exasperating behavior. In the episode at the governor's mansion Hester twice attempts to distract Pearl into more acceptable behavior. When Pearl enjoys the distorted image of the scarlet letter reflected in the armor, Hester suggests that they look at the flower garden. When Pearl begins a tantrum over the acquisition of a rose, Hester suggests to her that people are approaching. Hester instinctively addresses her positively as "dear little Pearl" in her admonition that she quiet down. In an embarrassing and dangerous moment when Pearl escapes from Mr. Wilson out an open window and flings at the old minister a remark that her origin is a wild rose bush, Hester forbears to correct her or even to explain her behavior. She seems to accept as obvious what every parent knows--children may not show off to best advantage when placed in the spotlight. Instead of responding with exasperation and implying rejection to Pearl, Hester chooses the opposite course--she draws Pearl close and warns the assembly, "'Ye shall not take her!'" (150).

Hester further shows a positive approach in the incident with Dimmesdale in the forest. Pearl has been told to run off and play, and

when Hester calls her to meet her father, Pearl balks. She is confused by the strange appearance of her mother's hair and the absence of the scarlet letter. She is resentful that Dimmesdale, about whom she holds mixed emotions, has taken her place at her mother's side. Though Hester calls Pearl in the tenderest of ways and opens her arms to receive her, Pearl will not come and when Hester threatens to go after her, the child goes into a tantrum. But Hester knows children well. She does not engage in a battle of wills; she quickly meets Pearl's demands by replacing her cap and the letter and explaining to the minister, "'Children will not abide any, the slightest, change in the accustomed aspect of things that are daily before their eyes. Pearl misses something which she has always seen me wear!'" (209). Pearl then readily crosses the brook and comes to her mother, kisses her, and to assure herself and everyone present that she has had the upper hand, kisses the scarlet letter also. She furthermore lets the minister know where he stands with her by washing off his kiss in the brook.

Like any other parent, Hester makes mistakes. She worries negatively and harbors doubts about the future of a child born of sin. "...she looked fearfully into the child's expanding nature, ever dreading to detect some dark and wild peculiarity, that should correspond with the guiltiness to which she owed her being" (136). She is overly concerned about the defects of character in Pearl. She wonders if the child has a capacity for human sorrow--when Pearl is a mere three years old! But such worrying reflects a mid-nineteenth century concern with

children's moral development.

In one area, however, Hester does go wrong. It is in her handling of Pearl's continual obsession with the scarlet letter and her desire to know her father. In these situations Hester hushes, evades, threatens the dark closet and labels the child "naughty." All of this, of course, is because of her own guilt.

When Pearl is only three she seizes on Hester's question of who sent her "hither" to announce that it was not her heavenly father. "'He did not send me!'" she cries, and "'I have no Heavenly Father!'" "It is thou that must tell me!'" she reminds her mother (142). But Hester will give her no key to the mystery of her father, and Pearl must indeed wonder why. Later on when Pearl reaches the age of seven she pursues the question of the meaning of the scarlet letter, and Hester, nervous as always that her daughter knows more than she reveals, asks her what she thinks it means. Finding she knows nothing Hester contemplates briefly sharing the secret burden but decides against it. "'Silly Pearl,' she says, 'what questions are these? There are many things in this world that a child must not ask about. What know I of the minister's heart? And as for the scarlet letter, I wear it for the sake of its gold thread.'" (191). Pearl knows better, and it is small wonder that she is unsatisfied. Eventually Hester is able to come out with the truth of the letter, that is, enough of the truth to satisfy Pearl's curiosity. She explains that she has once met the "Black Man" and the scarlet letter is his mark. It is too bad that she did not give so simple and direct

an answer to Pearl on the question of her father. She need only have stated that her father loved her but could not live with her for reasons that she would one day understand, but Hester, fearful that Dimmesdale's identity may in some way be revealed, has early determined that Pearl will never know her earthly father. And Pearl seems equally determined that she will. She undoubtedly sees Dimmesdale as the chief contender for the role, but may fear that it is Chillingworth or even the ugly beadle who looks at her on Election Day. Whoever it may be, she feels he has rejected her. Pearl recognizes that she is approaching the truth on Election Day and persistently nags at her mother with questions about the minister and is persistently hushed. She cries from a feeling of great relief when Dimmesdale finally accepts her and names her "my little Pearl" as well as from genuine sympathy for the man and the situation; to be sure, things will go better between her and her mother from then on.

It may be that Hester is permissive and gentle with Pearl because she feels that as a sinner she deserves to be punished by an obstreperous child. Indeed she admits that the child is the instrument of her torture. One cannot forget either that Pearl is a symbol as well as a character, and much of her wild behavior corresponds to the sin she represents. Yet the likenesses between Pearl and Hawthorne's own daughter Una and the similarities of Hester's child psychology with that of the Hawthornes' are too striking to ignore. From all evidence Hawthorne drew Pearl from life and Hester's child rearing principles are those he both approved of and practiced.

HAWTHORNE AND CHILD REARING . . .

Hester's behavior is consistent with what the Hawthornes admired in women. She is devoted to her child, and if given the opportunity, would be devoted to Dimmesdale. Though capable of intellectual pursuits, she suppresses her urge to dabble in women's rights. Hawthorne had little regard for career women and women reformers. He wrote to his publisher Fields that women writers are "feeble and tiresome." He wished they would be forbidden to write "on pain of having their faces deeply scarified with an oyster shell."[3] Both Hawthorne and Sophia frowned upon Margaret Fuller. Mrs. Hawthorne wrote to her mother, "It seems to me that if she were married truly, she would no longer be puzzled about the rights of women. This is the revelation of woman's true destiny and place, which never can be <u>imagined</u> by those who do not experience the relation."[4] Sophia herself gave up her art when the children were toddlers and she felt they needed her full-time attention. It was she to whom Hawthorne deferred to exercise moral judgements. Julian Hawthorne wrote that Hawthorne "believed, and was delighted to believe, in the higher purity and (as it were) angelic wisdom of her feminine nature; and if he ever ascribed wisdom to himself, it was on the ground that he accepted her views upon all matters as to which mere worldly experience and sagacity were uncertain guides."[5] Hester, then, in her role of mother met with her author's approval.

Pearl has been called an unrealistic child by many critics. Yet it is widely recognized that Hawthorne used his own daughter Una as her model.[6] Una was a spirited child of many moods, who caused her father to express a fear very similar to Hester's, "...there is something that almost frightens me about the child--..." and "...I cannot believe her to be my own human child, but a spirit strangely mingled with good and evil, haunting the house where I dwell."[7] "Her natural bent is towards the passionate and tragic," he wrote of Una.[8] Of Pearl he said, "She [Hester] could recognize [in Pearl] her wild, desperate, defiant mood, the flightiness of her temper, and even some of the very cloud-shapes of gloom and despondency that had brooded in her heart" (137). One description of his daughter in Hawthorne's notebook has its direct counterpart in the Scarlet Letter. "Her life, at present, is a tempestuous day, with blinks of sunshine gushing between the rifts of cloud; she is as full oftentimes of acerbity as an unripe apple...."[9] Randall Stewart in his note points to the corresponding passage in the Scarlet Letter, "She possessed affections, too, though hitherto acrid and disagreeable, as are the richest flavors of unripe fruit"[10] (190).

Hawthorne's experience with children was more than mere observation. Working at home as he did in the early years of the children's lives, he spent most of his afternoons with his family. Long walks and almost daily outings at the nearby lake were part of the routine when the Hawthornes lived at the Red House in the Berkshires. Hawthorne climbed trees to shake down nuts, folded newspapers into boats for young Julian,

and lay happily on the leaves while the children gathered wildflowers in the woods. At one time Sophia and the two girls went to West Newton to care for her sick mother and Hawthorne remained with Julian for a period of three weeks. In his notebooks he recorded the experience entitling it, "20 Days with Julian and Little Bunny, by Papa," the bunny being a charming but tedious pet. All of the daily routine of a young child, the baths and hair curling, upset stomachs and upset feelings were tended patiently by the solicitous father. At one point he wrote, "I hardly know how we got through the forenoon. It is impossible to write, read, think, or even to sleep (in the daytime) so constant are his appeals to me in one way or another; still he is such a genial and good-humored little man that there is certainly an enjoyment intermixed with all the annoyance."[11]

Life for the Hawthornes was centered around their children. Social gatherings were mainly with families, and when guests were invited who brought no children, such as Thoreau, the Hawthorne children were still included and expected to enter in. The Emersons and Hawthornes had frequent exchanges in the days when the Hawthornes lived in Concord at "The Wayside." At home the children held center stage. Besides a routine of reading to them, teaching them their letters, songs and nursery rhymes, the parents participated in games, some of which according to their youngest daughter, Rose, were boisterous and rousing. "We ran around the large centre-table, and made this gambol most tempestuously merry. If anything had been left upon the table before we began, it was

removed with rapidity before we finished."[12] Frequently the sitting room was cluttered with blocks and books and in the midst of the confusion the children romped through their games and arguments.

Like Hester, the Hawthornes allowed their children a great deal of self expression. They followed a permissive, and at times, over-permissive course. Perhaps because they did and perhaps because the children were imaginative and energetic there was a great deal of activity and turmoil. When the family stayed with Hawthorne's mother during her final illness, one of the children's principal occupations was playing "dying grandmother," usually in whimsical and sprightly vignettes. They took turns being doctor, grandmother and nurse. One of Mrs. Hawthorne's final hours found her son at her bedside when Una's voice came through the open window from where she was playing below, "Yes; she is going to die." Hawthorne wished she had said "'going to God'--which is her idea and usual expression of death; it would have been so hopeful and comforting, uttered in that bright young voice."[13] A less indulgent father might have wished she had not said it at all or punished her. Julian and Una engaged in more than mere verbal battles. At times Julian armed himself with a stick to defend his rights and Hawthorne noted with pleasure that it was his "one masculine attribute."[14]

Of course there was discipline. Una recalls a bright "boudoir" room with a big window and a door without a handle on the inside where the children were isolated when they were bad. It was possibly a

brighter model for Hester's threatened dark closet, and the children seemed not to fear it too greatly. When Julian was three he put his father in it and said, "You cannot come out until you have promised to be a good boy."[15] Occasional exclusions from the activities of the kitchen or study were other disciplinary methods mentioned in Hawthorne's notebooks, but many upsets were soothed in Sophia's loving arms.

Love was at the basis of the Hawthornes' relationship with their children and they showed it in their patient solicitations. "Alas for those who counsel sternness and severity instead of love towards their young children," Sophia wrote to her mother.[16] At another time to the same she wrote, "No one, I think, has a right to break the will of a child, but God; and if the child is taught to submit to Him through love, all other submission will follow with heavenly effect upon the character."[17] Besides this the children remembered that Hawthorne was often whimsical and light hearted. All of these qualities are present in a letter he wrote to his youngest, Rose, while she and her mother were in Portugal in 1856. Beyond the whimsy is a suggestion of what the Hawthornes encountered in their children and, from all appearances, dealt with kindly and patiently:

> My Dear Little Rosebud,--It is a great while since I wrote to you; and I am afraid this letter will be a great while in reaching you. I hope you are a very good little girl; and I am sure you never get into a passion, and never scream, and never scratch and strike our dear Nurse or your dear sister Una. Oh no! my little Rosebud would never do such naughty things as those. It would grieve me very much if I were to hear of her doing such things. When you come back to England, I should ask Mamma whether you have

> been a good little girl; and Mamma (I hope) will say: "Yes; our little Rosebud has been the best and sweetest little girl I ever knew in my life. She has never screamed nor uttered any but the softest and sweetest sounds. She has never struck Nurse nor Una nor dear Mamma with her little fist, nor scratched them with her sharp little nails; and if ever there was a little angel on earth, it is our dear little Rosebud!" And when Papa hears this, he will be very glad and will take Rosebud up in his arms and kiss her over and over again. But if he were to hear that she had been naughty, Papa would feel it his duty to eat little Rosebud up! Would not that be very terrible?
>
> Julian is quite well, and sends you his love. I have put a kiss for you in this letter; and if you do not find it, you may be sure that some naughty person has got it. Tell Nurse I want to see her very much. Kiss Una for me. Your loving PAPA.[18]

Hawthorne most assuredly was not copying the child rearing techniques of the Puritan times. Edmund S. Morgan in The Puritan Family shows that children of Pearl's time were fully under the authority of parents who felt that affection would spoil youngsters.[19] But discipline was progressively relaxing in the 1800's and by the end of the century a smother-them-with-love attitude was widely held.[20] In countering childish turmoil with warm embraces, the Hawthornes were somewhat ahead of their time. But predominantly their theories were consistent with those presented by authorities of their day.

Children at this time were the center of attention. The Hawthornes and Emersons of Concord were not unique in this. Jane Louise Mesich in her The English Traveller in America chronicled a visitor's remark that children "were not relegated to the background, as in Europe, but were given a place, and that a prominent one, in the daily family life."

Charles Quill, pen-name for James W. Alexander, a Princeton professor and Presbyterian minister, advised the working-class parent to spend time with his children, be open to their approaches, and educate them.[22]

Early education often centered on developing the child's moral character. Intellectuals such as Sophia's sister, Elizabeth Peabody, were influenced by the English romantics who felt children closer to God. "...for in childhood the sense of Justice, and the sentiment of the Good and Beautiful, have not yet lost the holiness and divine balance of Innocence, or the glow and impulse first received from the Divine Being, who projected the individual soul into time and space, there to clothe itself with garments, by which it may see itself, and be seen by its fellow beings," she wrote in her Record of a School, printed in 1836.[23]

The school operated by Bronson Alcott which she described concentrated on the principle of "contemplation of Spirit" and developed the child's innate moral values as emphatically as his intellectual ones. "As it is the ideal of a girl's education to be educated by an accomplished mother, in the sacred retreat of home,--the nearest approach to these circumstances, is the ideal of a girl's school,"[24] Miss Peabody wrote of her own school, and in doing so pointed to the figure who was generally considered the backbone of the family--mother. Mothers, from the middle to the end of the 19th century, held an exalted position as educators and builders of character in the family. Hawthorne's deference to Sophia on questions of moral values was entirely standard for the day.

Though discipline was relaxing, corporal punishment was still commonly used. Punishment with a ferule occurred from time to time in Alcott's school, though Mr. Alcott eventually abandoned the practice. In the 1840's magazines advised more and more the gentler touch. One distinct theory of guidance prevalent at the time was described in Childhood in Contemporary Cultures edited by Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein: "This theory advocated gentle treatment of the child and had its roots in English and European movements already afoot. The child was to be led, not driven; persuaded to the right, not commanded. Consistency and firmness were counseled, but with understanding and justice to the child. Encouragements and rewards should be offered; beatings, reproaches, slaps, dark closets, and shaming were to be avoided. Punishment and reward were to be administered not according to the consequences of the child's act but according to the motives."[25]

CONCLUSION

Hester Prynne then is permissive in her handling of Pearl in the Scarlet Letter. She allows the child a freedom of physical activity and an almost full expression of her feelings that sometimes suggests overpermissiveness. Hester never uses physical punishment but rather, responds to the child's difficult behavior with demonstrations of love. Such child rearing principles, from accounts by Hawthorne and his children, were similar to Hawthorne's own practice and were based on ideas he and his wife endorsed. In turn, these theories were recommended by authorities writing on the subject in the mid-nineteenth century. The trend was towards a child-centered atmosphere where adults attempted to listen to and understand their children and allow them a freer atmosphere without danger of severe discipline. Although a reaction against permissiveness took place in the first part of the 20th century, the 1940's saw similar principles set forth again by Dr. Benjamin Spock, and they are still endorsed popularly by psychologists such as Dr. Haim G. Ginott.

NOTES

[1]Nathaniel Hawthorne, The Complete Novels and Selected Tales of Nathaniel Hawthorne, ed. Norman Holmes Pearson (New York, 1937), p. 206. Subsequent references to The Scarlet Letter are taken from this volume and cited in the text.

[2]Dr. Haim G. Ginott, Between Parent and Child (New York, 1969), pp. 93-94.

[3]Edward Wagenknecht, Nathaniel Hawthorne: Man and Writer (New York, 1961) p. 150.

[4]Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife: A Biography, I (Boston and New York, 1884), 257.

[5]Julian Hawthorne, I, 42.

[6]See, among others, Hubert H. Hoeltje, Inward Sky: The Mind and Heart of Nathaniel Hawthorne (Durham, North Carolina, 1962), p. 256, and Randall Stewart, "Introduction," in Nathaniel Hawthorne, The American Notebooks, ed. Randall Stewart (New Haven, 1932), p. xxix.

[7]Nathaniel Hawthorne, The American Notebooks, ed. Randall Stewart (New Haven, 1932), pp. 210-211--hereafter cited as Stewart.

[8]Stewart, p. 200.

[9]Stewart, p. 200.

[10]Stewart, p. 326, note 489.

[11]Stewart, p. 214.

[12]Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Memories of Hawthorne (Boston and New York, 1923), pp. 299-300.

[13]Stewart, 210.

[14]Stewart, p. 213.

[15]Lathrop, p. 294.

[16]Julian Hawthorne, I, 379.

[17]Julian Hawthorne, I, 306-307.

[18]Lathrop, p. 295.

[19]See Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England (New York, 1966), pp. 77-78.

[20]Celia B. Stendler, "Sixty Years of Child Training Practices: Revolution in the Nursery," The Journal of Pediatrics, XXXVI (Jan.-June 1950), pp. 122-134.

[21]Jane Louise Mesich, The English Traveller in America: 1785-1835 (New York, 1922), p. 83.

[22]Charles Quill [pseud. James W. Alexander], The American Mechanic (Philadelphia, 1838), in American Life in the 1840's, ed. Carl Bode (New York, 1967), pp. 81-82.

[23]Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Record of a School: Exemplifying the General Principles of Spiritual Culture (Boston and New York, 1836), p. ix (Preface).

[24]Peabody, p. xviii (Preface).

[25]Robert Sunley, "Early Nineteenth Century American Literature on Child Rearing," in Childhood in Contemporary Cultures, ed. Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein (Chicago, 1955), p. 161.

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